

Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8720
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AMEMBASSY LUSAKA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY GABORONE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LILONGWE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY

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E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PDEV UK RH
SUBJECT: RHODESIA: SMITH ARTICLES IN DAILY TELEGRAPH

1. TIMED TO COINCIDE WITH THE RHODESIA DEBATE IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, LONDON'S DAILY TELEGRAPH PUBLISHED ON AUGUST 1ST AND 2ND TWO ARTICLES BY IAN SMITH. IN THE FIRST COLUMN, SMITH PAINTS A PICTURE OF A WRONG-HEADED AND WEAK-WILLED DAVID OWEN AND SUMMARIZES THE RHODESIA SITUATION AS A CHOICE BETWEEN (A) THE SALISBURY GOVERNMENT REPRESENTING THE DEMOCRATIC WISHES OF THE MAJORITY PROTECTED BY THE DEDICATED IF DEPRIVED SECURITY FORCES, AND (B) THE UNPOPULAR, BRUTAL, FACTIONAL COMMUNIST PATRIOTIC FRONT SUPPORTED BY A RUSSIA AND CUBA BENT ON TYING A SOVIET-DOMINATED BELT ACROSS SOUTHERN AFRICA. THE SECOND ARTICLE STRESSES THAT BRITAIN MUST HAVE THE UNCLASSIFIED

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COURAGE TO LIFT SANCTIONS NOT ONLY TO SUPPORT RHODESIA, WHICH HAS SUCCESSFULLY CIRCUMVENTED SANCTIONS ANYWAY, BUT ALSO TO RELIEVE THE ZAMBIAN GOVERNMENT ON THE VERGE OF COLLAPSE. SMITH THEN GOES ON TO ARGUE THAT THE SALISBURY GOVERNMENT WILL CREATE A DEMOCRATIC, MULTI-RACIAL SOCIETY, THAT THE AGREEMENT OF MARCH 3 SATISFIES PREVIOUSLY ESTABLISHED BRITISH PRINCIPLES AND THE

KISSINGER PROPOSALS, AND THAT GENUINE PROGRESS UNDER THE AGREEMENT CONTINUES DESPITE OWEN'S SUPPORT FOR THE PATRIOTIC FRONT.

2. WE ARE POUCHING TEXTS OF THE TWO ARTICLES BUT SOME OF THE MORE INTERESTING EXTRACTS ARE QUOTED BELOW:
AUGUST 1 ARTICLE:

-- BISHOP MUZOREWA ASKED HOW IT WAS THAT BRITAIN AND AMERICA, THE TWO LEADING EXPONENTS OF HUMAN RIGHTS, COULD JUSTIFY THEIR SUPPORT OF THOSE EXTERNAL LEADERS WHOSE STATED AIM WAS TO SEIZE POWER THROUGH FORCE OF ARMS, AND THEIR LACK OF SUPPORT FOR THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT WHICH HAD COMMITTED ITSELF TO A DEMOCRATIC SOLUTION THROUGH THE BALLOT BOX. TO SAY THAT THE ANSWER HE GOT WAS UNSATISFACTORY WOULD BE AN UNDERSTATEMENT. NKOMO HAS SAID OPENLY THAT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WOULD PREVENT AN ELECTION TAKING PLACE AND THAT THE POLLING BOOTHS WOULD BECOME MILITARY TARGETS. HIS PARTNER IN THAT UNEASY MARRIAGE OF CONVENIENCE, ROBERT MUGABE, HAS GONE FURTHER AND HAS SAID REPEATEDLY THAT HIS AIM IS A MARXIST ONE-PARTY STATE IN RHODESIA.

-- PERHAPS EVEN MORE OMINOUS IS THE SYSTEMATIC COMMUNIST INDOCTRINATION WHICH IS BEING APPLIED TO THE TENS OF THOUSANDS OF BLACK CHILDREN WHO HAVE BEEN ABDUCTED AND FORCIBLY REMOVED FROM THEIR PARENTS.

-- TO ME ONE OF THE MOST REMARKABLE ASPECTS OF THE UNCLASSIFIED

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PRESENT SITUATION IS THAT, IN DENYING SUPPORT TO THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT WHILE ENDORSING THE CLAIMS OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT, BRITAIN AND AMERICA ARE BACKING THE SAME HORSE AS RUSSIA.

-- THE PRESENT BRITISH AND AMERICAN ADMINISTRATIONS WILL IN NO CIRCUMSTANCES FACE UP TO A CONFRONTATION IN AFRICA WITH RUSSIA OR HER AGENT, CUBA, EVEN IF THAT SHOULD MEAN SACRIFICING THE PROSPECT OF A DEMOCRATIC SOLUTION IN RHODESIA AND ACQUIESCING IN A TAKE-OVER BY THE PROTEGES OF RUSSIA.

-- THE NEXT IMMEDIATE TARGET WOULD BE BOTSWANA, WHERE ALREADY THERE IS EVIDENCE OF MARXIST-INSPIRED DISAFFECTION AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT OF SI SERETSE KHAMA. VERY SOON THERE WOULD BE A BELT OF COMMUNIST-DOMINATED STATES STRETCHING ACROSS SOUTHERN AFRICA FROM MOZAMBIQUE IN THE EAST TO ANGOLA IN THE WEST.

-- THE PATRIOTIC FRONT...EXISTS ONLY BECAUSE EACH OF ITS LEADERS IS WELL AWARE THAT HE LACKS GENUINE ELECTORAL SUPPORT AMONG THE BLACK POPULATION OF RHODESIA AND MUST THEREFORE RELY ON INTIMIDATION THROUGH FEAR... EACH GROUP IS ALSO BESET BY INTERNAL RIFTS, USUALLY ON A TRIBAL BASIS. IN THIS SITUATION ANY SUGGESTION OF DIS-

MANTLING THE HIGHLY EFFICIENT PROFESSIONAL SECURITY
FORCES WOULD BE SHEER MADNESS.

-- IF THERE IS ONE THING THAT I RESENT BEYOND
MEASURE IT IS ANY SLUR ON OUR SECURITY FORCES. MANY OF
THEM HAVE SACRIFICED THEIR LIVES IN DEFENCE OF THE BLACK
VILLAGERS IN THE TRIBAL TRUST LANDS.
-- THE SECURITY FORCES HAVE ACHIEVED REMARKABLE

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SUCCESS IN THE FACE OF CONSIDERABLE DIFFICULTIES, NOT TH
LEAST OF WHICH IS THE PROBLEM OF OBTAINING IN THE FACE
OF STRINGENT SANCTIONS, THE ARMS AND EQUIPMENT NEEDED TO
DEFEND THE POPULATION AGAINST TERRORISM.

-- NOW THAT OUR CIVILIAN POPULATION, PARTICULARLY
THE BLACKS, ARE BEING SUBJECTED TO FREQUENT AD BRUTAL
ATTACKS BY TERRORISTS OPERATING FROM BASES IN ZAMBIA AND
MOZAMBIQUE THE CONTINUATION OF SANCTIONS SEEKS TO DENY
THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT AND ITS SECURITY FORCES THE
ARMS AND EQUIPMENT NEEDED TO PROTECT THE POPULATION
AGAINST THESE ATTACKS.

-- DR. OWEN AND MR. VANCE HAVE BOTH STATED IN THE PAST WEEK THAT TO LIFT SANCTIONS NOW WOULD INDICATE A BIAS IN FAVOUR OF THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. THE IMPLICATIONS ARE UNCLASSIFIED

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THE POSITION IS THAT THE TERRORISTS HAVE A RIGHT TO SEEK POWER THROUGH FORCE OF ARMS AND MURDEROUS ATTACKS, BUT THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT, WHICH SEEKS A PEACEFUL TRANSFER OF POWER THROUGH THE BALLOT BOX, HAS NO RIGHT TO DEFEND ITS PEOPLE AGAINST SUCH ATTACKS.

AUGUST 2 ARTICLE:

-- WHEN SANCTIONS WERE IMPOSED ON RHODESIA THERE WERE NO DISSENTERS IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL. BUT ONE CAN READILY IMAGINE THE HOWLS OF WRATH THAT WOULD EMANATE FROM THE VARIOUS UNITED NATIONS LOBBIES AT ANY ATTEMPT IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO TERMINATE THEM -- EXCEPT ON THE BASIS OF A HAND-OVER TO THE PATRIOTIC FRONT.

-- THERE IS ALSO THE MATTER OF A RUSSIAN VETO. THIS RAISES AN INTERESTING CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTION, NAMELY THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT AND OF THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS. I BELIEVE IT IS PURELY AND SIMPLY A MATTER OF POLITICAL COURAGE ON THE PART OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT.

-- ZAMBIA HAS SUFFERED FAR MORE FROM SANCTIONS THAN HAS RHODESIA. AS A RESULT THE ZAMBIAN ECONOMY IS IN A STATE OF NEAR COLLAPSE AND THIS IS CAUSING SERIOUS POLITICAL PROBLEMS.

-- THE FACT IS THAT WE HAVE CIRCUMVENTED SANCTIONS EFFECTIVELY AND ARE CONTINUING TO DO SO. OUR ECONOMY IS LESS BUOYANT THAN IT WAS TWO OR THREE YEARS AGO BUT THIS IS NOT THE RESULT OF SANCTIONS.

-- IT WILL NO DOUBT BE CLAIMED THAT I AM NOT TO BE TRUSTED, THAT THIS TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT IS JUST A TRICK TO STAVE OFF MAJORITY RULE. FOR THE FIRST TIME IN THE LONG YEARS OF NEGOTIATION AND DISAGREEMENT OVER THE RHODESIAN QUESTION, LEADERS OF DIFFERENT MOVEMENTS WHICH WERE FORMERLY OPPOSED TO EACH OTHER -- SOMETIMES VERY BITTERLY OPPOSED -- HAVE JOINED HANDS IN AN AGREEMENT

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WHICH WILL LEAD TO MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA ON THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE BY THE END OF THIS YEAR. OUR AIM IS A MULTI-RACIAL COUNTRY IN THE WESTERN DEMOCRATIC TRADITIONS, IN WHICH ALL RACES CAN LIVE TOGETHER IN SECURITY AND HARMONY. THE TERMS ARE COMPLETELY IN LINE WITH THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS PUT TO ME BY DR.

KISSINGER IN PRETORIA.

-- DR. OWEN HAS NAILED HIS FLAG FIRMLY TO THE MAST
OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT.

-- WE INVITED THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO HAVE A
REPRESENTATIVE ON THIS CONSTITUTIONAL COMMITTEE BUT THE
OFFER WAS REJECTED.

-- EVERY POSSIBLE STEP HAS BEEN TAKEN TO ENSURE
THAT THE ELECTION WILL BE FREE, FAIR AND IMPARTIAL.
AGAIN, WE INVITED THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO BE REPRESENTED
ON THIS COMMITTEE BUT THIS WAS DECLINED. WE ALSO
INVITED THE BRITISH AND AMERICAN GOVERNMENTS TO APPOINT
OBSERVERS TO REPORT ON THE CONDUCT OF THE ACTUAL ELECTION,
BUT THEY HAVE REFUSED TO BE ASSOCIATED IN ANY WAY
WITH IT.

-- SINCE WE SIGNED OUR AGREEMENT ON MARCH 3 I AND
MY COLLEAGUES ON THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL HAVE HAD NOT ONE
WORD OF ENCOURAGEMENT FROM THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

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